

any of the cosponsors, attempt to seed into this legislation an advantage for one party or the other. We were fair, we were committed to genuine reform, and we were and are determined.

I have found the experience liberating, and I commend it to all of my colleagues. I urge all of my colleagues to join us in this necessary endeavor, to accept the public will and restore the public's respect for the institutions that are derived from their consent. Vote for cloture. Vote for reform.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 1 o'clock having arrived, the Senate will now stand in recess until the hour of 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 1:02 p.m., recessed until 2:15 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. COATS).

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, the McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform bill is not a perfect bill. But it is a good bill. More important, it provides a good start on what ought to be one of our top priorities: loosening the grip of big-money special interests on politics.

I will vote for cloture not because I think this bill cannot be improved—it can—but because we must change the way campaigns are financed, and this is, for now, the only means we have to make that change.

There are those who say they oppose cloture because they want to be able to amend this bill and improve it. But let no one in this Chamber be fooled: a vote against cloture is a vote to kill campaign finance reform. We know that because the leading opponent of this bill has told us he intends to filibuster this bill and kill it if we give him the chance.

To block reform with calls for debate is more than cynical. It is dangerous.

A while back, the Kettering Institute conducted a survey of Americans' attitudes about the influence of money on politics. The survey found a widespread belief that "campaign contributions determine more than voting, so why bother?" It described "a political system that is perceived of as so autonomous that the public is no longer able to control or direct it."

"People talk about government," the study said, "as if it has been taken over by alien beings."

We will never restore faith in government if people believe the political system is rigged against them, if they believe it serves the wealthy, the powerful, and the politically connected at their expense.

The McCain-Feingold proposal, as I have said, is not perfect. For instance, I believe we should encourage partici-

pation in our political process by individuals who get together not because they have some narrow economic interest in a particular bill but because they have a broad interest in the direction of government. That is exactly the kind of grassroots participation that groups like EMILY'S List and, yes, WISH List, encourage. Yet this bill would ban such participation. In my opinion, that is a serious flaw.

But this bill does fix some of what is most broken about the current campaign finance system. It sets reasonable spending limits. It makes political campaigns more competitive for challengers. And it sets reasonable limits on the influence of PAC's.

This is not an attempt by one party to rewrite the rules to its own advantage. This is a bipartisan effort that will be good for both our parties, and for our Nation. I want to thank Senators MCCAIN and FEINGOLD for their leadership in getting us to this point against what must have seemed at times very long odds.

I will vote for cloture because I believe it is wrong if another Congress comes and goes and does nothing about campaign finance reform.

Talk may be cheap. But when endless talk is used to block action on campaign finance reform, it becomes terribly expensive because special interests are able to undermine efforts to solve the problems that matter most to America's families.

A while back, the Speaker of the House said, and I quote—"One of the big myths in modern politics is that campaigns are too expensive. The political process is not overfunded; it is underfunded."

Mr. President, the American people do not agree. A poll conducted earlier this year by a Republican and a Democratic pollster asked people whether they agreed that "those who make large campaign contributions get special favors from politicians." Sixty-eight percent said yes, they agreed, and they said they were deeply troubled by it.

So the need for campaign finance reform will not go away, even if, for some reason, campaign finance reform is not enacted in this Congress. Ultimately, we must change the rules. We must lessen the influence of money on politics. I urge my colleagues to join me in beginning that change by voting now to bring this reasonable, modest proposal forward for a vote.

Mr. LOTT addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may use leader time for a very brief statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, just very briefly, I want to commend the Senate for the quality of the debate on this campaign finance reform issue. I have been able to listen to several of the speeches that have been given. I think

on both sides of the issue and on both sides of the aisle, it has been an outstanding debate.

I commend specifically Senator MCCAIN, Senator FEINGOLD, Senator THOMPSON, and others who have sponsored this legislation, and for the quality of their cooperation and debate.

I also commend the courage, once again, of the outstanding leader of the opposition to this campaign finance reform, Senator MCCONNELL. He has done a magnificent job. I think we should recognize that.

I think this is an important issue which we will address, I am sure, again in the future. But I think it is too important to address right at this point in the heat of the national election debate.

I do not think we have the solutions here. So I urge that cloture not be invoked.

I hope the Senate will not invoke cloture on the McCain-Feingold substitute amendment to S. 1219.

We all agree that campaign finance reform is an important issue. But it's become too important to deal with it during the heat of a national election.

It is already too late in the calendar year to make this bill's provisions apply to the elections of 1996. So we are not going to lose anything by waiting until early next year to get this job done.

When we do it, we have to do it right—the first time. We should not make the same mistake the Senate made back in 1974, when it hastily cobbled together a campaign reform bill that later came apart at the seams before the Supreme Court.

Since the Court's decision in Buckley versus Valeo in 1974, the Congress has been on notice that, when it comes to imposing rules and restrictions on the financing of political campaigns, we must be scrupulously careful of the first amendment.

In short, our good intentions must pass constitutional muster. My personal judgment is that this bill does not do so.

I recognize that others may disagree, but when it comes to the free speech protections of the first amendment, I prefer to err on the side of caution, rather than zeal.

I need not go into all the details already covered by other speakers, but I note that one of the key provisions in this legislation—concerning political action committees—has a fallback provision, in case the original provision is overturned by the Supreme Court as a violation of the first amendment.

What that means to me is that we know at least some parts of this bill are on shaky ground. I think we should craft campaign finance reforms that are rock solid.

Two of our colleagues from the Republican side of the aisle have played crucial roles with regard to this legislation. Both have acted out of conscience and principle, and have come to opposite conclusions.

Senator MCCAIN took the lead in shaping this legislation and advancing it to this point. His determination has kept this issue in the spotlight, and I know he will not give up the fight now.

I hope to work with him over the next several months to see how we can build on his efforts for a bill that will be more broadly supported and, finally, enacted into law.

Senator MCCONNELL has, in this 104th Congress as in preceding years, been a consistent critic of campaign finance laws which, in his judgment, would limit access to the political process or inhibit participation in it.

To speak bluntly, he has put his neck out to defend the first amendment rights of all Americans, even when it was not fashionable to do so. I commend him for doing so. I know he will be equally vigilant in the future, to ensure that the Congress does not attempt to achieve a worthy goal by less than worthy means.

I think everyone has had their say about campaign finance reform. Now it's time for the Senate to move on to other pressing issues.

So I will vote against cloture. And if my colleagues agree with me, and cloture is not invoked, it will then be my intention to return to the Department of Defense authorization bill.

CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the cloture motion.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on S. 1219, the campaign finance reform bill:

Trent Lott, John McCain, Judd Gregg, Bob Smith, Rick Santorum, Sheila Frahm, Claiborne Pell, Jeff Bingaman, David Pryor, John F. Kerry, Paul Wellstone, Patty Murray, Fred Thompson, Bob Graham, Herb Kohl, Russell D. Feingold.

CALL OF THE ROLL

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The mandatory quorum call has been waived.

VOTE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on S. 1219, the campaign finance reform bill, shall be brought to a close? The yeas and nays are required. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 54, nays 46, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 168 Leg.]

YEAS—54

Akaka	Ford	Mikulski
Baucus	Glenn	Moseley-Braun
Biden	Graham	Moynihan
Bingaman	Harkin	Murray
Boxer	Hollings	Nunn
Bradley	Inouye	Pell
Breaux	Jeffords	Pryor
Bryan	Johnston	Reid
Bumpers	Kassebaum	Robb
Byrd	Kennedy	Rockefeller
Cohen	Kerrey	Sarbanes
Conrad	Kerry	Simon
Daschle	Kohl	Simpson
Dodd	Lautenberg	Snowe
Dorgan	Leahy	Specter
Exon	Levin	Thompson
Feingold	Lieberman	Wellstone
Feinstein	McCain	Wyden

NAYS—46

Abraham	Frahm	Lugar
Ashcroft	Frist	Mack
Bennett	Gorton	McConnell
Bond	Gramm	Murkowski
Brown	Grams	Nickles
Burns	Grassley	Pressler
Campbell	Gregg	Roth
Chafee	Hatch	Santorum
Coats	Hatfield	Shelby
Cochran	Heflin	Smith
Coverdell	Helms	Stevens
Craig	Hutchison	Thomas
D'Amato	Inhofe	Thurmond
DeWine	Kempthorne	Warner
Domenici	Kyl	
Faircloth	Lott	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote the yeas are 54, the nays are 46. Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is rejected.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further proceedings under the quorum call be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. LOTT. We do have some requests for time. With the agreement of the Democratic leader, I ask unanimous consent that we be in morning business until the hour of 3 p.m., at which time we hope to have the unanimous-consent request involving a number of issues ready.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GRASSLEY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

IOWA STATE FAIR

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, one of the best ways to tell the Iowa story already unfolds each year in Iowa's capital city, Des Moines. The Iowa State Fair has become an icon of life in Iowa—it is a reflection of what is best about Iowa and its people. Sparking the interest of hundreds of thousands of visitors each year, the State fair offers a diverse range of exhibits and performances. And it is among the largest agricultural expositions in the Nation.

In 1854, 8 years after Iowa joined the Union, the first State fair was held in Fairfield, IA, on a 6-acre field. Even in those early years, Iowans came from miles around. Although the fair was only a 3-day event, an amazing crowd of 7,000 to 10,000 arrived 3 days before and camped in covered wagons along the road. In 1878, the fair grounds were permanently moved to Des Moines. Today, the fairgrounds span 400 acres, including 160 acres of campgrounds.

During the early years, a sampling of popular entertainment features included female equestrians and a contest among seven men to plow one-quarter or an acre the fastest. In 1911, the Wright brother's biplanes demonstrated each day of the fair.

The State fair began a unique tradition in 1916 that holds true today and continues to unite all ages of fairgoers. That year, young 4-H club members started a livestock and beef judging show. The following year boasted the largest sheep exposition of its time. To this day, young Iowa 4-H and FFA exhibitors continue to impress visitors and judges with their livestock and homemaking projects. By the way, I am proud to say that 4-H was started in Iowa.

For over 141 years the essence of the Iowa State Fair has not changed. Its main focus continues to revolve around agriculture and its vast opportunities. The tradition of excellence in Iowa agriculture products has stood the test of time. Take a quote from a fair judge in 1854: "as to corn, it is useless to talk of finding any better."

Many Americans may have read a novel called, "State Fair," or perhaps watched a version of it on the big screen. Yes, it was written by an Iowa newspaperman and was based on the Iowa State Fair. The famous Rodgers and Hammerstein musical also was inspired by the Iowa State Fair. Last year, "State Fair" debuted at the Civic Center in Des Moines and opened on Broadway in March of this year.

Folks from all walks of life come each and every year to enjoy the sights, tastes, and sounds of the State fair. Iowans hold a very special place in their hearts and take pride in our annual celebration of Iowa's culture, history, agricultural products, and commerce. Without a doubt, individual and community efforts have made the Iowa State Fair a major event in the Midwest. The bounty and achievements from across our great Nation and from overseas is honored each summer at the Iowa State Fair.

So put on some comfortable clothes and shoes. Remember that the temperature will be hot and the air humid. And let us go help judge the jelly and jam, look at the livestock, take a ride on the midway, eat a corn dog, and marvel at how realistic the cow sculpted from pure butter looks. Let us all go to the Iowa State Fair.

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.